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ABSTRACT

An investigation was made of a school district career ladder plan that includes formal responsibility for the supervision, mentoring, and professional growth of the novice/probationary teachers in the schools as a direct part of teacher leader responsibilities. The district career ladder attempts to address greater initial teaching success, organizational support for professional contact, a collaborative setting and structure to support it, the separation of summative and formative evaluation, training in clinical supervision, and the development of an ethos of improvement. District level data for establishment of environmental setting and influence included written documents and a sample frame of twenty interviews with key personnel. School level data were gathered from teacher leaders, probationary teachers, and administrators from the two junior high schools in the district. A description of career ladder teacher activities includes discussions on how the plan functions, the responsibilities of leader teachers, clinical supervision activities, relationships among the participants, problems encountered, and successes achieved. (JD)

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Formal Teacher Supervision by Teachers In a Career Ladder

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Formal Teacher Supervision by Teachers
In a Career Ladder

Much attention in research on effective schools focuses on the school. Rutter (1978), Edmonds (1979), and Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, and Lee (1982) point to leadership at the school level as an important variable in improving instructional performance. Attempts to improve education have led, among other things, to experimental occupational structures for teachers. Career ladders are proposed as one such reform. Career ladders have many forms, concentrating on the district or school level, emphasizing merit or expanded duty and responsibility components. The purpose of this paper is to investigate a district career ladder plan that includes formal responsibility for the supervision, mentoring, and professional growth of the novice/probationary teachers in the schools as a direct part of teacher leader responsibilities. The discussion that follows will explore the implementation of the plan in the district and its effects on teacher work responsibilities, the professional development of the experienced and novice teachers, and work relationships among the teachers involved and the principal.

Background

Teaching in the United States is characterized by its isolation and invisibility, lack of professional dialogue between members of the profession, and lack of discretion and choice (Lortie, 1975). Contrary to the status quo, experiments in differentiated

staffing in the 1960s and 1970s and the current interest in career ladders emphasize mentoring, staff development, and other responsibilities for the improvement of instruction in the schools by master teachers or teacher leaders. The concept of collegial teachers, working together on instruction, curriculum, and classroom management remains a value unrealized. Current attempts to implement some of these features into practice are being pursued (French, 1985; Murphy, Peterson, & Kauchak, 1985; Schlecty, Joslin, Leak, & Hanes, 1985). While the emphasis on continuous professional development is present in these programs (Frieberg, 1985) the outcome of their efforts remains undetermined.

The current reform environment in education again emphasizes teacher incentive programs, career ladders, and evaluation of teachers. Rosenholtz (1984) explores some of the political myths developing around education proposals and their relationship with research on teaching. Eight elements, critical to the success of attempts at teacher career ladders, emerge from her analysis. 1) Starting salaries for teachers should be improved. 2) Chances for greater initial teaching success for beginners should be enhanced, cutting frustration and attrition rates. 3) Provisions must be made for organizational support through professional contact with other teachers and administrative involvement and support. Procedures and policies aimed at this goal will cut "organizational inertia" and provide the opportunity for success that current structures in educational organizations do not provide. 4) A collaborative setting must be established in the school

as a whole. 5) There should be a structural vehicle for collaboration and staff development. 6) The process of staff development should be kept separate from competitive career decisions, even utilizing different individuals for the two functions. Summative and formative evaluation should remain separate in the organization. 7) Standardized test scores should be eliminated as a standard of evaluation. 8) The school must operate from the assumption and cultural expectation that everyone can improve. Little (1982) also emphasizes the importance of collegiality and experimentation norms in school growth and success efforts.

In a study of effective practices in teacher evaluation, Wise and his colleagues (Wise, Darling-Hammond, McLaughlin, and Bernstein, 1984) promote other important features of teacher evaluation and staff development. They argue that local differences and cultures play an important role in the success of evaluation programs and educational goals, management style, conception of teaching, and community values should be reflected in the system. The importance of top level organizational support is stressed. Sufficient time and personnel should be provided, quality of the evaluations should be assessed, and supervisors should be trained in observation, reporting, diagnosis, and clinical supervision skills. Rather than emphasizing the separation of formative and summative evaluation, they argue that the purpose and process should match and should be agreed upon by the members. Teacher involvement and teacher responsibility in the system is stressed.

The career ladder investigated in this paper attempts to address greater initial teaching success for beginners, organizational support for professional contact, a collaborative setting and structure to support it, the separation of summative and formative evaluation, training in clinical supervision,and the development of an ethos of improvement. It's development emphasized the involvement of relevant professionals, provided considerable time and resources, and received support from the highest levels of the district organization.

Methodology

Because it was necessary to examine a district and schools using a system of career ladders with specific supervisory responsibilities assigned to teacher leaders, a theoretical sample was used. The district was chosen because the structure of its career ladder plan, implemented in the fall of 1984, included the required features. The district's size enabled the use of the population of junior high schools in the district to serve as the school level sample and provide two sites for comparison and contrast of data.

Data was gathered using a variety of techniques. District level data for establishment of environmental setting and influence included written documents and a sample frame of twenty (27) interviews. The documents were the district's formal career ladder plan, agendas and participant notes from career ladder

planning meetings, drafts of the career ladder plan, peer review and application forms for career ladder positions, job descriptions for career ladder positions at the participant schools and at other schools for comparison, logs kept by teachers of extended contract day activities, and minutes of school board meetings. The interviews using structured interview schedules for the planning and implementation of the district's career ladder were conducted between November 16 and December 6, 1984. A sample of teachers, principals, district office personnel, the superintendent, school board members, a teachers' association representative, and parents was interviewed. Career ladder and non-career ladder teachers and the principals from two elementary, one junior high, and one high school were chosen randomly from the district's schools.

School level data was gathered from the two junior high schools in the district. All six (6) teacher leaders and nineteen (19) of the twenty two (22) regular education probationary teachers at the two schools, both principals, and both assistant principals participated in the study. One probationary teacher moved from the city before the study was completed. Preyear structured interviews were conducted with each participant. The researcher visited each of the schools regularly (twice each month) for a day to collect participant observation field notes, conduct informal interviews, and collect other data. Document records from the two sites including formal plans, job descriptions, teacher leader observation notes, and a personal journal kept by each participant were collected. Audio tapes of formal post-

observation conferences between the principals and new teachers and the teacher leaders and new teachers were made by the participants and transcribed as part of the data. Finally a mid-year survey of all participants to test the development of emerging themes and perceptions, experiences, and involvement was conducted in January, 1985. The response rate on the survey was eighty three (83%) percent.

Data was first prepared in systematic field notes of interview responses and participant observations. Contact summary sheets were prepared for documents, transcripts, and journals as well as for each day of observation and each interview. Data analysis consisted of preliminary issue coding into descriptive, evaluative, and interpretive categories in the data. Conceptual clusters and an initial list of categories include the environmental setting or situation, perspectives and perceptions, interpersonal processes, activities and events, strategies, career orientation, and changes in practice, among others. Data was then analyzed using established reduction and display techniques including data issue summary sheets, time-ordered, role-ordered, and issue-ordered matrices, critical incidence charts, and change gradients. Throughout the study, the researcher periodically interviewed teachers who were not participants and some outliers. A teacher in each school watched for and reported examples of researcher effect on the setting, incidences of which rapidly declined after initial entry on the scene. Concept and variable frequency counts, pattern and theme development, plausibility checks against data,

and clustering were used to establish meaning and test findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Miles & Huberman, 1984). Further analysis is planned after the final data gathering and postyear interviews in the spring. Results reported in this paper include data gathered in the district in November and December, 1985 and in the schools between from September and January, 1985.

Setting

Laketown School District, located in a small western city of 45,000, has experienced a slow, steady growth pattern over the last several years. Because its boundaries are almost filled under current zoning, the district does not expect any precipitous increase in its student enrollment, which totalled 10,996 in 1983-84 and is planning on a continued pattern of gradual growth. The current student enrollment supports twelve (12) elementary schools, two junior high schools grades 7 and 8, and two high schools grades 9-12. The students and their families are primarily white and middle to upper middle class, though a growing number of Polynesian and Asian students in some nieghborhoods is changing the homogeneous appearance of the studentbody, particularly in the neighborhoods that feed Westlake Junior High.

The community is both politically and fiscally conservative. The local Chamber of Commerce is influential in school district politics. In an attempt to stabilize its revenues and protect it from state funding shortfalls that occur in the uniform school

fund, the Board of Education sponsored a voted leeway election in each of the two years preceding the 1983-84 school year. Both measures failed, a result attributed by the district's professional employees to a large retirement population and taxpayers' conservatism. When the state appropriated some funds for a career ladder, the superintendent launched a campaign to assign voted leeway money from the capital outlay assessment to additional funding for career ladders, a measure which passed in the spring of 1984. The superintendent encourages his professional staff to initiate and lead innovation efforts in the curriculum and instructional program, developed an instructional improvement model in the district over the last four years, and was instrumental in the development of the career ladder plan.

Northeast Junior High is located near a large university that dominates the city and serves primarily upper middle and lower upper class neighborhoods. It has an enrollment of 700 students with thirty four (34) teachers, a principal, and an assistant principal. Many of the students in the school are the children of professors at the university. Westlake Junior High is larger, with an enrollment of 855 students and forty three (43) teachers, a principal, and an assistant principal. Its feeder neighborhoods are almost exclusively middleclass, with the exception of a small area drawn from a more prosperous neighborhood by the school board to achieve greater balance. Neither school has any minority teachers or administrators on staff.

The district career ladder plan was designed by a committee of faculty and administrators. The district PTA president was actively involved, providing feedback and an advisory committee during the final stages. Each school had one faculty representative on the committee, the teachers' union had one representative, one secondary and one elementary principal served, and the superintendent chaired the committee. In addition, representatives of counseling and special education were later added. After the initial structure, selection procedures, and job descriptions were developed, each school designed features for a plan that fit within the general structure but met its unique staffing and development needs. While the plans were organized differently to adjust to quotas and needs, clinical supervision, building level inservice, and formal and informal leadership for teachers were features in all the plans.

Findings

The discussion of findings below is divided into general district level characteristics and developments and school site study of the two junior high schools forming the focus of the school level analysis. Findings include major themes, activities, and directions for the career ladder.

District

The district plan is still evolving. Though the schools are working under the provisions of the plan developed in the 1983-84 school year, an ongoing career ladder committee is making revisions and further developing the concept as feedback and evaluation takes place.

Career Ladder Teacher Activities

The career ladder teachers are involved in a variety of instructional and curriculum related activities. Many school-wide programs that would otherwise not have been possible because of lack of time and resources from professional staff have been developed by teachers and teacher leaders. At one elementary school a group of sixth graders known as the A Team works to improve student activities and discipline. A high school and junior high school have developed school-wide discipline and attendance plans that many teachers, administrators, and parents label as resounding successes. Group process and faculty collaboration activities resulting in increased interaction and group cohesiveness in many faculties were organized during the extended contract days preceding school.

Career ladder teachers attend district and state inservice programs. Inservice on topics identified by individual faculties is also being provided. While these programs have received mixed reviews, the reaction has been more positive than negative.

Teacher leader activities include inservice, clinical supervi-

sion, instruction materials assistance, mentoring, coaching, and modeling for probationary teachers, and some district curriculum work. Teacher leaders cover for probationary teachers while they visit other schools and teachers, plan lessons, or observe teacher leaders teaching. Most gratifying of all to the teacher leaders, probationary and other teachers have begun to approach them on their own volition for assistance and resources. In addition, the teacher leaders often remark that they have learned a great deal from their involvement with the other teachers. Supervision is a major responsibility. One teacher leader remarked, "My personal feelings are that supervision is the critical area in which we work, particuarly for the intern and apprentice teachers. He also remarked that most often he finds excellent teaching and the opportunity to reinforce teachers for their quality work.

Plan and Activity Features

A feature of the plan, extended contract days for teachers without students present, is a successful element of the career ladder plan. Although some teachers would still like this aspect to be optional for the individual, the goal of progress toward the enhancement of the full-time professional features of teaching has led to a system-wide participation requirement within three years, and most teachers participated the first year. The days were divided by negotiation with the teachers' association with five (5) days provided for individual teachers' use and five

and a half (5 1/2) days for district and school development. The individual days were used for such things as planning, curriculum revision, the development of additional enrichment and learning centers, lesson plan development and revision, materials preparation, outcome based education work, and goal setting. Teachers remark that they provided a significant opportunity for "expanding the basics." Comments that this was "the best beginning of school we've ever had" are common. School-wide and district days were used to develop training in clinical supervision, work in writing across the curriculum and mathematics curriculum, faculty effort on school-wide programs mentioned above, and instructional inservice in effective teaching methods.

The district's teacher evaluation system and the selection process for the career ladder are now tied closely together. While the career ladder evaluation is generally perceived as fair and objective "given the tools we had" there were some hurt feelings, particularly over the peer review. The teachers and administrators are particularly supportive of the three person selection committee at each school for teacher leaders. There is also a need to refine the interview process to protect against favoritism (conscious or unconscious) manifest in different questions for some participants. Some career ladder candidates feel that semi-structured interviews in a few schools resulted in an advantage for candidates more familiar with committee members or the principal and in questions that could be interpreted as discriminatory. (Will you husband support you in this assignment?" "Are you

planning to have a baby next year?")

Clinical Supervision

The district was working on the clinical supervision of instruction with a specific instructional improvement model before the initiation of the career ladder plan. However, the career ladder expanded and accelerated the application of existing programs beyond the formal evaluation of probationary teachers and the observation of tenured faculty. Adding additional emphasis to student outcome variables, the career ladder has formalized and legitimized the possible outcomes of the evaluation process.

Accountability, centered in school principals at the building level, requires that principals work closely with career ladder teachers. Ultimately, participants in the career ladder feel that responsibility for evaluation of programs and personnel rests at the individual school. Evaluation of the program will be two pronged, centering on the improvement of the teaching performance of the instructional staff assessed through clinical supervision and on assessment of student learning through standardized tests, criterion referenced tests, and career ladder resources devoted to the development of outcome based education assessments. This approach puts much stress on the developing quality of the staff emphasized in the school level phase of this study.

Relationships

Relationships among administrators, faculties, and district office personnel have been affected by the career ladder. There is a perception that the exchange of information is enhanced and facilitated by the career ladder structure, particularly because of direct organizational mechanisms for communication through teacher leader assignments. Through the legitimization of faculty expertise, the principal and faculty must confront and communicate with one another on profesisonal issues, sometimes facing the realization that some teachers "have more authority than regular teachers and may, in some way, theaten [the principal]." Faculty meetings in some cases are evolving into substantive decision arenas. One faculty member remarked, "We get really heated when we discuss issues, but the principal listens to us." There is some "razzing" of teacher leaders but faculties are generally supportive, even those who characterize themselves as "negative," and teachers say they talk about teaching more.

Recognizing the inherent conflict between length of tenure and the open market approach to selection, the district chose to "go where the talent is" for career ladder teachers with the provision that they not be probationary teachers and the exhortation that, when two candidates for a position were essentially equal, length of service should play a role. Because the teachers chosen were generally esteemed by their colleagues, there appears to be no substantial initial effect on their feelings of worth.

The inclusion of status differentiation within the career has caused some problems, and there is still concern that this may not be a permanent program, but the majority of faculties, though not all, describe general morale as "a lot higher" for a variety of reasons. They include teacher collaboration, pay for additional effort (work that many teachers put in on their own before), increased community support, better support services for new teachers, and the opportunity for many teachers to quit or dramatically scale back on their outside jobs. (Sears has lost a large part of its quality part-time labor pool.) However, teachers emphasize that "many master teachers have chosen not to participate" in the career ladder for a variety of personal and professional reasons.

Problems

There are some specific problems with the plan. Selection procedures for career ladder positions still need evaluation and clarification. The peer review, interview process, and paucity of good student outcome measures till plague the task force and district professionals. Participants feel that accountability for career ladder teachers needs better articulation. One of the difficulties between career ladder teachers and other teachers is the invisibility of much of the work of teacher leaders. There is some need expressed by teacher leaders to communicate better with other teachers about their work in the school. Related

to this issue, there is an emerging sense that an imbalance exists between job descriptions--some incorporate unrealistic expectations while others remain far too nebulous.

One of the most serious unresolved aspects of the plan is the length of appointment for teacher leaders. A compromise was reached when all first year appointments were for one year only, a decision that has subtly affected the work and influence of the teacher leaders at the school level. However, the development committee must address and resolve the conflict between the need for continuity and career opportunities and the need for accountability and access to the positions.

The successes identified by those in the district are many. Teachers feel that the plan provides for pay for their efforts without the divisiveness usually associated with merit pay. One hundred percent (100%) of teachers benefitted from the extended contract year, and fifty percent (50%) of teachers are participating in some way in the career ladder. The training teacher leaders received is perceived as extremely valuable professionally. Collaboration, a factor identified as vital to school improvement efforts, is seen as greatly enhanced, both between faculty members and between career ladder teachers and the principals. Time together as faculties, necessary for collaboration to take place, has been provided. The emphasis on school-wide improvement now has organizational support.

Teachers know more about each other and the strengths faculty members bring to the school's instructional program. Selection

committee members remark that they were impressed and surprised by the talent and abilities of all candidates for the teacher leader positions. There is a sense of increased respect that comes with more interaction among groups and knowledge about colleagues. One probationary teacher, qualifying his statement with the explanation that he had been very cynical about career ladder potential, said, "Everything about it was a pleasant surprise."

School Level

While most of the major issues emerging at the two school sites are similar, some implementation problems are quite site specific. In this section, the issues emerging generally and those that apply to individual schools are discussed separately.

Site Specific Developments

Personal relationships have emerged as a much more important dynamic at Northeast than at Westlake. While the Westlake novice teachers and teacher leaders agree that they would not particularly care one way or the other which teacher leader or probationary teachers they work with, a few teachers at Northeast have developed strong personal preferences. There is some concern over leadership and supervisory style congruence with the probationary teacher's needs and anxiety level, particularly when that nervous anxiety is high. This may not be related to the teacher leader supervision,

however, because the novice teacher expressing the greatest anxiety and pressure described this reaction at the beginning of the year, anticipating that she would feel this way before the experience was well underway. However, talk about this reaction has influenced noncareer ladder teachers as Northeast.

The teacher leaders at Westlake have quite different job assignments. While two of the three work directly with the novice teachers by assignment, they have individually different major task divisions. At Northeast, the job descriptions for the teacher leaders are generic and were meant to make all three positions equivalent. The teacher leaders at both schools express concern about the invisibility of their work to the other teachers in the building and to the novice teachers they work with, but at Northeast the novice teachers and other faculty also feel that it is difficult to tell what the teacher leaders are doing other than clinical supervision. This impression has led to some discontent among faculty members. At Westlake, however, where jobs are more directly differentiated, there is no expressed concern over teacher leader invisibility among novice teachers or the faculty in general.

Related to the question of teacher leader invisibility and lack of clear job differentiation, more negative perceptions of teachers not involved directly in the career ladder at Northeast have developed. There is some expressed concern among a small number of teachers that the teacher leaders are not earning their money, that selection may reflect favoritism, and that other

career ladder positions that include the department chair position lack status and power when teacher leaders are members of the department.

A natural reflection of shared perceptions and goals discussed above, morale has been enhanced by the career ladder experience at Westlake. Teachers talk about an increased sense of unity, faculty sharing, and direction. There is a shared feeling of empowerment among faculty members in general. One novice teacher expressed his reaction to the teacher leader supervision and leadership as an improved "sense of professionalism in the school that has increased my enthusiasm and helped keep my motivation high." Other teachers refer specifically to morale in the school as a positive result of the new responsibilities and sharing. At Northeast, that same morale effect has not been observed. Teachers are far more cautious, looking at the teacher leader supervision as a temporary reform.

Personal relationships, clear job assignments, visibility of teacher leader work, and morale differ between the two sites. At Westlake the principal openly acknowledges teacher leader authority and has provided regular opportunities in faculty meetings for that authority to be demonstrated. Consequently, the novice teachers and others at Westlake perceive the teacher leaders as possessing greater authority, status, and influence than other teachers in the school. Not as visible as leaders, the teacher leaders at Northeast are not perceived by the novice teachers as possessing greater status, authority, or influence. However,

the teacher leaders at both schools perceive their positions as reflective of status and influence.

Shared Site Issues

Though the novice teachers often refer to clinical observation and conferencing by the principal as useful to them, both they and the teacher leaders perceive the teacher leader supervisor as more generally helpful in their professional development than the principal. Several teachers feel that the level of contact they have been able to have with teacher leaders has been too low to substantially affect their growth and development, but the general feeling is more positive. Novice teachers, when asked what they have liked most about the interactions with their teacher leaders, often refer to "knowing who to ask", "someone you can go to with questions", and their "objective and helpful comments."

These comments spring from both formal and informal observations by the supervising teacher leaders, and there is a general perception in both schools that the supervision has been helpful to the novices. The teacher leaders find the experience of "working closely with the faculty and principal on school problems" a very satisfying professional experience. Though there is some concern that the assignment takes too much time, the teacher leaders enjoy sharing ideas, developing new relationships, and having the opportunity for training and growth. They often explain

that they understand the concerns of others in the building far more completely that before. The novices, as discussed above, enjoy having someone specified as a source of help and information. One teacher expressed pleasure at observations and conferences that she felt were nonjudgmental and her confidence that her teacher leader respected trust and confidentiality in these visits.

Both the teacher leaders and novice teachers generally enjoy the clinical supervision experience, though the vast majority of novices were observed by their teacher leaders formally only once by the end of January. Teacher leaders have tended to rely more on informal classroom visits during this time. Of all the features of direct supervision responsibilities, the novice teachers enjoyed the conferences with their teacher leaders, expressing confidence that they usually captured the important aspects of the observed lesson and teaching. However, teacher leaders, who expressed no qualms about their own ability to observe classes, tended to underestimate the level of concern and anxiety that the novice teachers felt at being observed by them. Though they were not particularly bothered by the observation regimen (with one outstanding exception), they were far less blase than the teacher leaders.

The teacher leaders and novice teachers differ in their perceptions of the nature of volunteered and requested information and assistance. While the two groups agree that they interact most often over instructional issues, the teacher leaders feel that they offer help more often than do the novice teachers.

Novices also feel that the teacher leaders emphasize classroom management and discipline. While the novice teachers do not approach their teacher leaders often for help, they express openly their pleasure at knowing that someone is there prepared to give assistance if they want it. Additionally, the fear that experienced teachers not involved in the career ladder would no longer be asked for or give help to new teachers has not been realized. In both schools experienced teachers are still approached for help by the novices.

Though reactions are positive, as a group the teacher leaders express more sense of professional growth from this first year of experience than do the novice teachers. The inservice training they received and their opportunity to travel, meet other professionals, and participate in school leadership has given them an increased sense of involvement and efficacy. Novice teachers find them able and generally feel that they have the teaching skills necessary to supervise them. The two principals express confidence in their teacher leaders. They both find the responsibility and influence of experience professionals to be a plus rather than a problem in their schools. While they have more formal power, the teacher leaders are the same individuals the principals feel they would be dealing with if there were no teacher leader positions, and they express support for the sharing, comraderie, and increased contact they have with the teacher leaders.

Summary

As a support system for new teachers, the structural features of career ladders investigated in this study appear to have promise. Developing evidence that, in spite of personality or habitual problems, experienced teachers can have considerable influence over the successful growth of teachers over the first few years of their careers is emerging from the data. The teacher leaders, novice teachers, and principals are most actively involved in the changes taking place, which may account for the fact that they are the most positive about the career ladder in general. Other faculty, having less contact or knowledge about activities undertaken, are not as positive in their reactions or have little opinion one way or the other.

Preliminary evidence in the first year suggests that the greatest immediate professional growth has come to the teacher leaders themselves. Renewed, with expanded professional horizons, they express regret that others have not had the opportunities that have come to them. Working directly with the school principals on many issues, they argue persuasively for a more multi-dimensional perspective on school and classroom problems than they had before undertaking teacher leader assignments.

The sense of collaboration between some of the most successful and experienced teachers in the schools studied and the newest teachers was enhanced. Novices approached teacher leaders and other experienced teachers for help, but more often, teacher

leaders felt free to offer information and assistance as part of their jobs without attaching the stigma of "needing help." Clinical supervision of new teachers by experienced teachers is developing into one of the most promising areas of the plan. The teacher leader learns more about teaching by consciously and thoughtfully addressing professional issues and others' work, and the new teacher has a sounding board to reflect and to talk with about issues of concern. The most positive attitudes reflected by the novice teachers were toward the supervisory conference following formal observation. While informal observation was less threatening and seemed less difficult to cope with on the surface, it provided far less useful information to the new teachers. Lack of a conference and direct feedback after such informal visits may be a factor in this outcome.

The isolation and invisibility of work that plagues teaching at all levels exacerbates problems between the career ladder teachers and teachers not involved with any aspect of the ladder. There is some difficulty understanding others' work when it is never directly observed. There is also some question raised about the nature of the intermediate steps in the ladder and the work of those designated as teacher specialists. The teacher leaders whose job descriptions were more idiosyncratic and less generic and whom principals openly put in the limelight as leaders in the faculty experienced little or no resentment. Teacher leaders whose work was less visible were not so fortunate. The more visible leaders were also perceived as having more status

and influence in the school.

The question of cost has not been addressed here. Like the differentiated staffing programs discussed in the introduction to this paper, career ladders are not without cost. Increased pay for nonteaching days, more responsibility and work opportunities for teachers, and increased responsibility for pay all add to the cost of education. Careful study of the variety of programs now being undertaken under the rubric of career ladders is required to establish connections between reforms and specific desired professional and performance outcomes.

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